

Equal Suffrage in Colorado

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A Study of Woman Suffrage
in General and of the
Practical workings and
Results of the Enfranchise-
ment of Women in Colorado
in Particular.

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Equal Suffrage in Colorado.

The story of the evolution of man from the primitive condition to the highly organized States of today is one of dramatic interest, in which tragedy has played a prominent part, and from which comedy has not been excluded. In truth, it may have been the original Comedy of Errors.

The part that woman has been called upon to play in this process of evolution has belonged, in large measure, to the tragic.

From the beginning, the human family has been composed of male and female, and from all probability, will be so constituted to the end of human time, but were it not for the grave consequences that

have ensued, the attempts of the male to act as though he alone were entitled to consideration, would often be of the most comic character.

In the early history of the race, woman was the abject slave of the man. She was his property, to be used for his pleasure and benefit, or abused as he saw fit. The husband could and did kill his wife if she displeased him. "Then," as Wright says, "as ages move on their course we see societies which become by degrees civilized, and in proportion to this advance the condition of woman improves." From being a slave, to be bought and disposed of as the man saw fit, and the toy of his caprice and passion, she is coming to occupy the place of an equal.

But this has not come to pass without a struggle. Progress

has been painfully made step by step. Seldom it is that nations are converted wholesale. Not often among human kind have the armies of Allah persuaded men to change their gods and their religion. Men in advance of their time, men who have boldly broken away from established customs and fearlessly proclaimed a new truth have died for their intrepidity. The Israelites stoned their prophets and the Pilgrim Fathers on the bleak New England shores, having themselves fled from persecution, burned their witches at the stake.

Might makes Right has so long been the principle upon which the brute forces of the world have acted, that when man found himself evolving from a state of nature to an ethical and moral condition, it was hard to lay aside the

ancient club and adopt the gentler weapons of civilization. Hence it is not much to be wondered at that with all the traditions, prejudices, superstitions, and similar accumulations of uncounted centuries, man is yet loth to declare boldly his willingness to share his usurped powers with her who has so long borne her grievous burdens in silence, nor that woman takes with timid grasp the things which by right are hers but have so long been withheld.

No wonder, then, that in questions where it would seem but one side should be espoused, champions opposed to each other are raised up and the battle rages with undiminished vigor. Thus, when women began to break the shackles that bound them in ignorance, superstition and servitude, and began to step forth into a clearer light,

they were held back, not alone by their primordial lords but also by those of their own sex yet awed by the powers of the past and superstitious fears of the future.

This country is the youngest of the great nations of the world but is, nevertheless, the oldest in some of its progressive institutions. But these are still in their infancy.

In the industrial world woman has ever had her place wheresoever her labor has been a benefit or a source of profit, - there has her toil been required. It is only into some hitherto forbidden fields that she has lately been permitted to enter.

Female education is yet very young, her admission to the professions is still younger, - but from these and other considerations has grown up the idea of "equality of the sexes".

Social equality (of equals) has

long been recognized; Co-education or intellectual equality is at present generally accepted; economic equality is now forging itself to the front; but Political equality! Aye, there's the rub.

The immortal Aristotle declared centuries ago that "man is a political animal" and argued for the equality of the sexes. The Declaration of Independence, the most remarkable document ever produced by the human intellect, declared that "all men are born free and equal," and the undying fathers of our Republic proceeded forthwith to disfranchise half its citizens by giving the ballot only to the male members of the Community.

The enfranchisement of woman had its beginning the ^{day} on which "the Common School was opened to girls and the alphabet placed in their hands." The years, though few, from that time to this, have been long and weary and filled with Herculean

labors and heartaches sore for such women as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, Mary Livermore, Susan B. Anthony, and many others, but the fruits of their labours are appearing, and posterity will ever bless these heroic leaders.

The political emancipation of woman had its ostensible beginning when the first Woman's Rights Convention met at the home of Mrs. Stanton in Seneca Falls New York, in July 1848.

Such a movement had never before been heard of. It was a revolution, - rather a rebellion. It meant unenviable notoriety for the few brave women who dared to take a stand against the tyranny of accumulated centuries. But what of the result? These women were looking forward to the civic freedom of half the race! After fifty five years the revolution is still on and gains

ing force with each succeeding year.

The position of equality (?) in which these women found themselves in 1848 is set forth in "The Declaration of Rights" that was presented and adopted at the Convention just mentioned.

It was as follows:

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she has had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men - both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first

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right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband.

In the covenant of marriage she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming to all intents and purposes her master - the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of woman.

the law in all cases going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He has closed against her all the avenues of wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. In theology, medicine and law she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as in state, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public partici-

pation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in men.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now in view of this entire disfranchisement of one half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation - in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate

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admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf.

We hope this convention will be followed by a series of conventions, embracing every part of the Country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right ^{and} the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this Declaration!

To show that their position was well taken and that these women were not labouring under a delusion, it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that at the beginning of 1848 the English Common Law was practically in force everywhere in the

United States, and to give two or three quotations from Blackstone's Commentaries:

"The very being or existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage or at least is incorporated and consolidated in that of the husband, under whose wing, protection and covert she performs everything. She is therefore called in our Law- French a femme-covert, is said to be covert-baron, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her baron or lord."

"By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the legal existence of the woman is merged in that of her husband. He is her baron or lord, bound to supply her with shelter, food, clothing, and medicine, and is entitled to her earnings and the use and custody of her person, which he may seize wherever he may find it."

"The husband being bound to provide for his wife the necessities of life, and being responsible for her morals and the good order of the household, may choose and govern the domicile, select her

associates, separate her from her relatives, restrain her religious and personal freedom, compel her to cohabit with him, correct her faults by mild means, and if necessary chastise her with ~~moderation~~ as though she was his apprentice or child. This is in respect of the terms of the marriage contract ^{and} the infirmity of the sex."

"In the year" (1852) Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the state of Massachusetts allowed women to collect only ten dollars out of their year's wages. Her publishers sent her \$10,000. for her book, and, in accordance with the law, all but ten dollars was presented to the name of Professor Stowe."

In the spring of 1848 New York ^{and} Pennsylvania by special statutes gave married women the right to hold property. This was the first glimmer of freedom from legal slavery for women. ~~the~~

The Civil War pushed many women forward. It compelled them to take the places of men temporarily absent or ^{who} never re-

turned. The knowledge and experience, the sense of freedom and independence ^{thus gained} have never been lost, but have only aided in the inevitable result.

The movement thus started has gone on. Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women in 1869.

Colorado in 1893, Utah and Idaho in 1896. Women have a limited suffrage in many other States and countries of the world. It is hoped and confidently expected that ere long equal suffrage will be in universal operation throughout our whole country.

The Colorado Territorial Legislature of 1868 considered the question of Equal Suffrage but failed to bring it about.

In 1870 Governor Wilcox recommended the extension of the franchise and a bill was introduced in the Legislature but was defeated. When Colorado became a State in 1876, Section 2, Article 7, ^{of the Constitution} provided that:

"The General Assembly may at any time extend by law the right of suffrage to persons not herein

enumerated, but no such law shall take effect or be in force until the same shall have been submitted to a vote of the people at a general election and approved by a majority of all votes cast for or against such law."

The next year the question was submitted but failed to carry.

In 1881 a bill extending the franchise to women lost in the Assembly.

The agitation was renewed in 1890 under the direction of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, and in 1893 the General Assembly passed the Equal Suffrage Law which was ratified by the people by 6347 majority, thus granting the franchise to women.

Section 1 of this law says: "That every female person shall be entitled to vote at all elections in the same manner and in all respects as male persons etc."

In 1902 the Constitution was so amended as to make Equal Suffrage a part of the organic law of the State. The sections of the Constitution under which women were enfranchised read as follows:

Section 1. Every male person over the age of twenty one years, possess-

ing the following qualifications, shall be entitled to vote at all elections: First, He shall be a Citizen of the United States, or, not being a citizen of the United States, he shall have declared his intention according to law, to become such citizen not less than four months before he offers to vote. Second, He shall have resided in the State six months immediately preceding the election at which he offers to vote and in the County, city, town, ward or precinct, such time as may be prescribed by law. Provided, That, no person shall be denied the right to vote at any school-district election, nor to hold any school-district office on account of sex.

Section 2. The General Assembly shall, at the first session thereof, and may at any subsequent session, enact such laws to extend the right of suffrage to women of lawful age, and otherwise qualified according to the provisions of this article. No such enactment shall be of effect until submitted to and approved by a majority of those voting thereon. The Amendment adopted substitutes the following section:

"Section 1. Every person over the

age of twenty one years, possessing the following qualifications, shall be entitled to vote at all elections:

He or she shall be a citizen of the United States, and shall have resided in the State twelve months immediately preceding the election at which he offers to vote, and in the County, city, town, ward, or precinct, such time as may be prescribed by law."

After the voters approved of the law in 1893, the willingness of the women to accept their new duties that had come to them, was shown by their study of Civil Government and allied branches is to prepare themselves for an intelligent exercise of their first privilege of suffrage.

They formed many political clubs, attended political meetings of all kinds, took an active part in the campaign of 1894 and were at the polls in large numbers."

Between 85 percent and 90 percent of the women of the State voted at that time, more than half the total vote for Governor being cast by women, - And let it be remembered that women are in the

minority in Colorado and that the minority was greater in 1894 than now.

In 1896 Governor McIntire stated that about 65000 voted out of 80000 women eligible to vote, or about 80 percent.

Now have Colorado women lost their interest in politics since then, though Professor Le Rossignol says:

"For a time, after the first enthusiasm was over, women ceased to attend primaries and conventions, while continuing to vote, but recently activity has revived, especially in connection with the regular parties. The Bryan Women's Democratic Club of Colorado had about 10000 members, and the Women's Republican League of Colorado was very large and influential with headquarters in Denver and auxiliary leagues in every part of the State."

In the fall of 1898 in District D, one of the most aristocratic districts in Denver 571 women registered and 570 voted, and in the proportion of two women to one man.

In 1901, 31780 men voted and 23449 women in the city of Denver, or 42½ percent (nearly) of the vote cast was by the women. In other parts of the State the female vote varied from

40 percent to 45 percent, with an average of about 42 percent for the whole State, and considering that there are 55 percent of men to 45 percent of women in Colorado, this is an excellent showing.

In 1902 there were many political Clubs and organizations actively engaged in campaign work. The Women's Republican League of Colorado had headquarters with the State Republican Committee in Denver and the Democratic Federation of Women's Clubs had its working bureau with that of the Democratic State Committee. Both organizations had branches scattered broadcast and worked hard and earnestly. The men who were active in campaign work say they were greatly aided by the women.

In Arapahoe County, of those to be voted for last November, not including Justices of the Peace and Constables - none of whom were women - twenty-five were female, or something over 15 percent. The offices embraced; Congressman-at-Large, State Treasurer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Regents of the State University, State Senators and

Representatives, and County Commissioners.

In the Republican Primaries, two months earlier, in the city of Denver, 131 of the 582 judges were women, or a little more than 22½ percent. Of the 194 precincts, 99 had from one to three (all) female judges, and 95 had no women judges.

In five precincts all the judges were female, in 22 two were women, and in 72 one was a woman. "It is generally admitted that the percentage of women who register and vote regularly, is almost as large as that of men."

It is to be greatly regretted that more complete statistics are not available, but that they are not is indicated by the following extract from a letter received recently from a prominent citizen of Denver: "Voters are registered, but no separate lists or figures are kept as to whether they are black or white, male or female, native or foreign born. All registered voters who vote are recorded, not as being black or white, male or female, native or foreign born, and no record is kept for statistical

purposes as to the number of Negroes who voted, or Irishmen, or women. It is difficult to explain to people who talk upon this suffrage question, that a woman by Colorado laws, is a Citizen and is not classed with unnaturalized foreigners, Chinese, Indians, idiots and lunatics.

A great many opponents of equal suffrage advance the argument (?) that it would admit too many bad women to the franchise. But the situation in Colorado does not seem to record the facts necessary to sustain such an argument, although the mining population of the State should tend to produce such effects if produced at all.

On the contrary, criminal statistics show but a very small number of women in State prisons.

In the District of Columbia women constitute 17 Percent of the prisoners; in Massachusetts and Rhode Island 14 percent; in New York 13 percent; in Louisiana 12 percent; in Virginia 11 percent; in New

Jersey 10 per cent; in Pennsylvania 9 per cent; in Connecticut 8 per cent; in Alabama, New Hampshire, Ohio, and South Carolina 7 per cent; in Florida, Maine, Mississippi, New Mexico, and Tennessee, 6 per cent; in Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina and West Virginia 5 per cent; in Arkansas and Delaware 4 per cent; in California, Minnesota, North Dakota, Texas and Vermont 3 per cent; in Colorado, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska and Utah 2 per cent; in Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, and South Dakota 1 per cent; in Washington $\frac{4}{5}$ of 1 per cent; in Oregon and Wisconsin $\frac{2}{5}$ of 1 per cent; in Wyoming and Idaho none."

So that the objection to equal suffrage of the man who ought to have known better and who declared that to the vote of every criminal man, you would add the vote of a criminal woman, is unfounded in fact and false in theory, because, for various reasons, women have never furnished as many criminals as men.

But granting that all the

Criminal women do not find their way to the state prisons - nor do men - , what is the situation in Colorado? Governor Thomas in a letter dated from Denver January 31st, 1899 said: "One curious effect of woman suffrage has not yet been much commented on. It is, as a rule, that the woman of the half world prefers not to vote and generally will not unless she is pressed or coerced to do so. One of the stock arguments against the granting^g the privilege has been that this class will do most of the voting and exert most of the influence. In practice the pleasing fact seems to be other wise, I think that the reason for this is that the poor creatures are, more, than any others, the sport and plaything of political pulls and spites and jealousies. They fear that by voting they will incur the displeasure of the powers that "be" or "maybe" and therefore take refuge in abstention."

General Irving Hale of Colorado said: "More women vote in the better

districts than in the slums, and the proportion of intelligent and refined voters to the ignorant and depraved, is larger among women than among men. The average result has therefore been beneficial."

In a letter from Cripple Creek, written by attorney Arthur L. Corbin, January 3, 1903 he says: "It is the policy of this class of citizens not to attract ^{public} attention to themselves, but to take the laws as they are, disobey them as much as possible and 'stand in' with the officers of the law."

Professor Le Rossignol speaks of the high character of the leading women politicians and says that at first many of the leading society and club women took an active part in political work. Then many withdrew and women of undesirable manners took their place. Latterly these have been pushed out by the party organizations and at present the organizations of women are led by representative women of high character and ability."

Mrs. Wilson, a prominent Colorado woman said: "It was said that the better class of women would

not avail themselves of the privilege of voting, but the fact is that it is just the better class of women who do vote, and the venal vote is lessened in proportion, instead of being increased as was prophesied." Hence from all these testimonials, and many others, it would seem that the poor old, crippled anti-^{woman} suffragist has been deprived of another favorite prop.

Another objection that is often raised to equal suffrage, is that if women voted it would only be a repetition of the male vote. Has it been so in Colorado? As with all these dogmatic assertions, the information does not corroborate the statement. "It has been stated on good authority that at the election of 1901 over 10 percent of the married women voted differently from their husbands. A considerable proportion of women is as yet somewhat independent of party control, forming an unknown quantity which disturbs the calculations of ^{the} party managers. This unknown quantity, called by some independence, by others fickleness, may be regarded as counting against rather than for political trickery and corrupt practices."

"They are not so partisan, as a rule, as are men, and they are apt to be very independent. So far, however, no woman has divorced her husband, beaten her brother, or disinherited her father for voting the opposition ticket."

"It is admitted that it was the woman vote that defeated Governor Waite and Populism six years ago."

"This principle is about as under the old regime as relating to sons voting as their fathers vote. I know of cases of positive difference where the domestic relation is perfect, - and some good observers say that women scratch their tickets more than men."

These are the expressions of men and women of wide knowledge and observation, such as Miss Ellis Meredith, newspaper correspondent of Denver, Professor Le Rossignol of the Denver University, Mrs. Helen Marsh Wilson, first State Librarian of Colorado and a prominent club woman, and Hon. Wm. G. M. Stone, President of the Colorado State Forestry Association, and are, accordingly, entitled to consideration as indicating the situation on this point.

It is probable that the "fickleness" or "independence" of the woman vote accounts for the

politician's unkindliness toward equal suffrage, although he must tacitly accept it, and work his schemes as best he may. In reply to the question: "What is the attitude of the politicians towards woman suffrage?" Ellis Meredith said: "Woman's suffrage may well be loved for the enemies it has made."

To those who oppose to Equal suffrage the plea of intellectual inferiority of woman, it is only a waste of words to reply, as such a flimsy excuse of an argument in the United States is but the outcropping of gross injustice, ignorance, or prejudice founded on ages of masculine predominance over the female.

It may be of interest however, to note that in 1898 Dr. W. J. Harris, National Commissioner of Education for the United States, said: "The women in higher and secondary education number 235,296, 287,162 and the men number 235,296, equal to 54.9 percent of the former and 45.1 percent of the latter. This, you see, is almost exactly 55 percent of women to 45 percent of men for the entire education higher than the elementary schools."

In the Chicago University one of the

reasons urged for segregation, was that the girls were carrying off all the prizes; - the boys did not have a fair chance with them. In his charge to the young women graduates of the Denver University, the Governor of Colorado not long since said; "You are now equally with your brothers qualified Citizens of our great Republic. You receive the same privileges and upon your shoulders fall the same responsibilities, and you are in every respect as fully prepared to perform the duties, discharge the responsibilities in as creditable a manner as they, your brother Classmates". - There is the intellectual superiority if these things are so?

Yes, the objector persists, but is it not true that of the thousands of foreigners who annually come to this country, the women are less well educated ^{and mentally developed} than the men? For the sake of the argument, grant that this is true, though absolutely it is to be doubted. But compared with the number of foreign males who arrive at our gates what is the proportion of females? Of the 1,149,118 immigrants who came to the United States during the

past three years 383,975 or about one third were women. The general percentage of male immigrants to our Union since 1821 is 60 and of female 40. Of the 19,250,665 immigrants during this time the United Kingdom and Germany have furnished 58.27 percent or nearly three fifths. These have quite generally been of the more desirable class of people and, as readily seen, from the countries having the best educational systems in Europe. Hence it follows that equal suffrage would increase the proportion of native born voters. This is the case in Colorado. The State has a population of 539,700. Of these 295,332 are males 244,368 are females. Of the males 56,048 are of foreign birth, and 35,107 females are foreign born. Thus it is seen that in the state the females constitute a little more than 45 percent of the population, but of the foreign born, the women make up only ^{about} 38½ percent. Accordingly, while about 10⅓ percent males of the State

are foreign born, only about $6\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the females are foreign born. Although these figures include minors, yet ~~it~~ is reasonable to suppose that for those over twenty one years of age, the proportions would not very materially change.

From the foregoing discussion it is conclusively shown: that Colorado women vote and take an interest in politics; that, while all classes manifest more or less interest, the best women predominate, - just as they do all over the United States; that women are as well qualified for the exercise of the franchise as are men; that the female vote is not simply a doubling of the male vote; and that ^{by} granting the franchise to women the proportion of native born voters is increased.

Notwithstanding these considerations, Equal Suffrage has not introduced the millennium into Colorado (whatever this term may mean) and hence some good people

have been disappointed and for this reason think that it has been a failure.

Why burden women with political duties? do we consider the right of suffrage for men a burden? Perhaps it is since many neglect its exercise. But no, it is not a burden, it is a duty of our citizenship, and as we have already shown, the males are only a part of our human kind, and what affects one part is surely of interest to the other! Nothing vital can fail to be of importance to both alike. Hence political considerations are for the race and not for only half of it.

It is a statistical fact that in some sections of the United States there are more women than men. Many of them have never been married, many others are widows and some are divorced. Many women own property and pay taxes. Many are earning their own livelihood and at the same time supporting others.

In 1888 (fifteen years ago, observe) there were 17427 working women in twenty two of the large cities of the United States. Of these 15387 were single, 1038 widowed, 745 married, 214

Separated, and 43 divorced. This does not, of course, include many others who own property and pay taxes, nor does it take into consideration the thousands of ^{working} women outside these twenty-two cities, all of whom should have a voice in governmental questions. Does it seem fair that all these women - many of them with no representation in legislative matters - should have nothing to say in the management of affairs? It is simply a matter of common justice that women should have the privilege of voting.

The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, it is said. Ah, then, why be so fearful of putting the ballot into her hands? Will she not the more bravely perform her other duties with her touch upon the lever of government?

Indeed the burden of proof from Colorado justifies this inference.

The breadwinning women consider the ballot a boon, - "It is her buckler against industrial wrong, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because

of her helplessness." Women generally regard the franchise as a serious public trust; - "They vote from a sense of duty" and "the vote of women is noticeably more conscientious than that of men".

If this is true in Colorado where there are only 818 women to 1000 men, while for the whole country the proportion is much greater - 952 women to 1000 men - what a help the franchise would be to the women of those sections of the country where they are more numerous, even outnumbering the men!

Although equal suffrage in Colorado is still young, having been in operation less than nine years, yet the beneficial results are highly gratifying to its friends; albeit much is still to be attained.

In addition to the general civilizing effect of the presence of women at the primaries, conventions, and polls, and better places than formerly selected for holding primaries and elections, the following laws were endorsed by the women

and passed largely through their efforts:

- (1) Women have been made co-equal guardians of their children.
- (2) The "Age of Consent" for girls has been raised to eighteen.
- (3) A State Home for dependent children has been established, also a State Industrial School for girls.
- (4) The emblems have been removed from the ballots.
- (5) The Humane Society has been made a State Institution.
- (6) Humane education is compulsory in the public schools.
- (7) Insurance companies that have to be sued to recover are compelled to stand the cost of such suit. (This bill was endorsed by every woman's organization in the State and passed practically unanimously in 1901.)
- (8) A law for the better preservation of forest trees was also endorsed by the women.
- (9) The Bi-Weekly payday was largely the result of the testimony of women before the Committee appointed to investigate the condition of the coal-miners.

(iii) The State Board of Charities and Corrections has been given the power to investigate private eleemosynary institutions, and has shut up at least two such alleged charities that had long imposed upon the public.

They endorsed a bill prohibiting the use of the flag for advertising purposes, another providing for a truancy or parental school, also a school for the feeble-minded, - neither of which has yet been established. - A law making the ballot more truly secret, five of the six amendments, and several others among the one hundred sixteen bills of the Thirteenth General Assembly. Among these was the establishment of the Juvenile Court, making it possible to regulate the messenger service so as to prevent sending children to gambling dens, saloons, etc, and a compulsory school law.

In addition to these the women are hopeful of obtaining a stringent Child-Labor law, establishing the

traveling library, getting a primary law passed, etc., etc.

The five amendments (above referred to) endorsed by them carried. The sixth, for a limited form of single tax, was endorsed by many women and opposed by more. It was defeated. The others were for:

Full citizenship as a qualification for voters; Home Rule for Denver; and the two bills necessary to establish biennial elections.

The only bill passed recently in spite of active opposition in which women generally took part, was the re-establishment of capital punishment.

The bills which they actively supported but failed to get passed were the primary election law, precinct option for the sale of liquor, and the initiative and referendum.

In answer to the objection that these same measures might have been passed anyway had the women not been enfranchised, it may be said, they might have been

of course, but it should be remembered that one of the laws mentioned above - Coequal guardianship of children - was passed in Massachusetts, where women cannot vote, last year after the women had worked for it for fifty five years. There are only twelve states in the Union which give the mother equal guardianship of her children, - the father having sole control in all other ~~states~~.

It is not often that attention is called to the need of a co-equal guardianship law, but it is brought home vividly enough by such examples as the case of the Chinaman, who, having married a respectable Irish woman, gave their three days old baby to his brother to be taken to China and there brought up. In vain did the mother appeal to the Court for help, the judge promptly deciding that the husband had the right to dispose of his child as he wished.

The Maramore tragedy is another case in point: "A hard working and tender hearted young mother killed her six children in a fit of distraction caused by the determination of her shiftless and drunken husband to separate them from her and place them in the hands of strangers, as he had the legal right to do."

In Colorado before the equal suffrage law went into effect, a married woman could not prevent her home from being mortgaged. "Instances were discovered where the wife had taken in washing to pay for the home, and a drunken husband had, when the final payment freed the place, immediately remortgaged that hard-earned shelter of his wife and children. Our women legislators succeeded in getting the law passed by which it

is required that the transfer of all communal property have the signature of both husband and wife."

Hence, it is not only reasonable to suppose, but from the words of many good witnesses, it is very evident that the voting women of Colorado have been able to influence legislation.

In answer to my question: "Has the general morality of the community been affected to any appreciable degree by equal suffrage?" a very intelligent and well-informed lady replied as follows:

"It has certainly made many country towns better. We are a little apt to think of Denver as if it were the whole of Colorado, and because women fail to renovate the city, we think that nothing is being done. We should remember that Colorado is an immense

State.

In a very extensive trip which took me to many country towns, I asked particularly about the woman vote. In almost every case I was assured the women always voted, frequently talked over rival candidates among themselves, went to hear political speakers, though it was not easy to get them to organise. They were generally well-informed and understood the issues as well as did the men. Women are not nearly so partisan as men, neither are they so forgiving. Political dishonesty is just as obnoxious to them as is any other kind of dishonesty. 'Expediency' isn't in their dictionary. They want to see some kind of return for their taxes. While the more extreme Prohibitionists are much disappointed because they have not received a greatly increased vote, in almost every

Case where there has been an opportunity to line up for temperance, or to elect a man of known temperance principles, the women have stood together for reform. They have not always succeeded but they have done the best they could.

One Senator elected largely because of his stand for temperance, got a bill through the last Assembly, compelling anyone selling liquor to take out a licence in every county where it was sold. The result has been to drive "beer wagons" out of business and also to remove all intoxicants from buffer cars in Colorado. The women didn't work for this bill actively, because the only way to get a bill like this through a legislature is to avoid stirring up the enemy. We have to move slowly, - There a little and there a little. All gambling devices in Cripple Creek were publicly burned last fall, and under

the reign of Judge Frank Owens, gambling is no more in Leadville. In Colorado Springs the gamblers have been imprisoned, and the law against the sale of liquor is being more vigorously enforced than ever before....."

But, it may be added, in the largest cities the saloon, as formerly, continues to do a thriving business, and the social^{ly} wil has not yet received its death-blow. However, it will require a moral and social change in a community, rather than a change in political status, to effect such matters materially. What Home Rule may do for Denver remains to be seen, but some fruit is expected in the near future.

An attempt was made to get some expression from the saloon men themselves on the question of equal suffrage as to its relation with their business, for this paper but no response

was obtained, although it is generally reported that they do not actively oppose the exercise of the franchise by women. However, it is stated that when Professor Fernand Deschamps of Belgium was in this country in the summer of 1901, making a study of equal suffrage, there was only one man in Wyoming who said to him in private that woman suffrage had not been a success, and that one man was a saloon keeper.

As might be expected, female crime has not been affected to any noticable extent. In elections male repeaters are as active as ever while only one woman in Colorado was charged with that offence last fall. "And when she realized the enormity of her crime she nearly died of grief and shame." At that election in Denver, the party which lost the election claimed that at least 4000 fraudulent votes were cast, and it is thought that the successful party would admit that there were at

least 1000 votes cast by male repeaters; who were not arrested and whom the "watchers" knew nothing about.

Elections are unanimously declared to be quiet and uneventful in Colorado.

Primaries and conventions depend largely upon party managers who often refuse to allow primaries to be held in or near a saloon, generally selecting places where the women will go.

Male newspaper reporters seem to consider conventions tame affairs as compared with those of pre-'93 days, but not so with one (at least) female reporter. She says: "That they must have been prior to '93 is beyond my imagination, but if they were any worse than now, only a menagerie turned loose in a lunatic asylum, to an accompaniment of red-fire and rag time could surpass them."

In nominating men for office an effort is generally made to select

men of clean morals, for the question always comes up, will he be acceptable to the women? But it sometimes happens as one expressed it: "A candidate is frequently better when he is seeking an office than after he gets it." (By the way, this might apply outside of Colorado.) After the election of 1901, one woman of influence wrote: "The result of the last election in Colorado should forever render inexpedient the nomination of a man of notoriously immoral life, no matter how brilliant his political genius."

In addition to the effects already mentioned, of equal suffrage in Colorado, the influence on woman herself has been enough to justify the measure, even if nothing more had been accomplished. The increased responsibility has resulted in the acquisition of knowledge, thus broadening her mental horizon, - "giving her a grasp of political and matters of more than local scope." This of course adds to her mental power and increases the sum of ~~human~~ intelligence. "For the woman

it has been a broadening in every way."

Women, as well as men, will "interest themselves most in subjects in which they directly take part." Therefore their interest in civic affairs is a result to be looked for. This interest increases their intelligence and general knowledge, and adds to their power and ability to cope with whatever may come to them hereafter. Just so much has the ability of the race been increased. Women have very largely the destiny of man in their hands through the bearing and early training of the children. Many strong, noble men have given their mothers due credit for their strength and success, and by increasing the number of strong women, the number of strong men is just as surely increased, and mankind is thereby helped and made more capable of meeting the demands of this most ~~ex~~acting age where ability to do counts for so much.

As a matter of course, differences

of opinion occur in the management of female as well as in male political clubs and organizations. There would be something of the human make-up wanting if there were no differences of opinion, but the differences are adjusted and the women have a broader conception of matters as a result.

The Case of Miss Emma Hiley, a candidate for State Superintendent last summer, is an example of feminine diplomacy applied to politics. Being defeated in the nominating Convention she successfully carried her entire following over to the standard of her more successful rival, although her friends were so strongly in favor of her that they had bolted the Convention.

Since 1893 women have sat in the Legislature, - and they have evidently been heard from. The office of State

Superintendent of Public Instruction is held by a woman who is and has been giving eminent satisfaction. State Boards are made up of both sexes, and the influence of the women has been felt for the better by the institutions under their control. Over half the counties of the State have women Superintendents, which fact of itself speaks volumes for the efficiency of woman in our educational system. There are some women County Clerks and at least one County Treasurer. Offices not previously freely open to women, do not open to her at once, as is manifest, even under an equal suffrage regime, but when her ability to fill these places has been shown to be as good as that of her brother - as it will be shown as soon as

she is given an opportunity to prove it. she will be found filling them with satisfaction - if she can be induced to accept them.

It seems to be a phenomenon peculiar to our status of civilization that the veneer cracks occasionally and that the aboriginal then breaks forth. Lynchings, mob-violence, fistie encounters and other similar occurrences are familiar examples.

Chivalry and gentleness are products of a greater or less degree of progress, but these attainments are sometimes cast aside and the savage is uppermost. During the registration last fall, a Denver daily, under the caption, "The Purifying Effect of Women in Politics," in prominent red headlines, described such an event which occurred when there were twenty two women waiting to register, a

registration officer, an Alderman, and "vouchers, bouncers, and heelers from the tenderloin" seemed to be responsible for the melee, - much to their discredit and the terror of the women, a number of whom scrambled away as best they could and refused to return to register. The men were saturated with tobacco and, probably, "booze", so, it is not remarkable that they dropped the acquired "gentleman" and acted like wild animals in the presence of womanhood.

In the matter of corrupt practices it is thought that equal suffrage has not been able to effect any change. But should it be expected? The evil in man's nature is not eliminated in the short period of nine years. Hence it seems but logical to infer that a more radical change than admitting women to the franchise, will be necessary to eradicate

Corruption from politics. The decline of the social vice, reported from certain communities, is thought to be due, in great measure, to changed economic conditions rather than to the question of suffrage.

This is the situation that should be expected. In moral and social questions, the influence of women has for a long time been very great, hence equal suffrage, alone, will affect these matters but little. Not one sex, nor one group of people, will be able to work a revolution in conditions moral and social - in conditions where all are concerned - but when higher ideals are reached by both sexes, and a unanimity of opinions prevails, then something will be accomplished.

But, on the other hand, it should be anticipated that in directions where women have had the least to say, when she is given the opportunity she will act, and her influence will be felt. This has been demonstrated to be

true in political and economic affairs, for in these directions greater changes have come about than in fields where she formerly had greater sway.

The principle may be formulated that the changes wrought by the adoption of equal suffrage are in inverse proportion to the influence of woman felt before such equal suffrage goes into effect.

In accordance with this principle it is expected that in the home, - "woman's sphere," - and in all matters relating thereto, the ballot in the hands of woman will cause the least change.

In Colorado the home is as sacred, daughters as filial, mothers as motherly, as in Kansas, or elsewhere; girls marry just as formerly, and their husbands as yet have entered no complaint that politics cause them to neglect their homes and wifely duties. The women who do neglect their home duties for political

reasons, are simply those who would do the same thing under the old regime for other excuses.

The fact, ^{that} there are relatively more unmarried men and women in our Country now than one hundred or even fifty years ago, is in no wise due to the equal suffrage movement, but is a phenomenon peculiar to our social and economic conditions. Colorado is far from presenting the spectacle of a greater proportion of the unmarried than those States not permitting women to vote.

In Wyoming where equal suffrage has been in force for thirty four years, the advocates of female suffrage have for the past fifteen years, had a standing challenge inviting its opponents to find two respectable men in all

Wyoming who assert over their own names and addresses that

equal Suffrage has had any bad effects. The opponents, thus far, seem to have failed to respond.

As already indicated Colorado still has some who oppose the exercise of the franchise by women, but none are found who are actively engaged in opposition, while on the other hand reports come from all quarters that equal suffrage has come to stay. As Professor Le Rossignol, ^{has} expressed it: "Colorado has adopted equal suffrage for better, for worse," and it seems to be very largely for "better".

Of its opponents Mr. Deschamps is reported to have said that whenever he found a person opposed to equal suffrage, that person had no facts to give in support of his position, but simply expressed the old feeling of antagonism, while on the contrary, those speaking in

favor of the franchise for women, always had facts to give in support of their opinion.

Of himself, this eminent investigator said that his mind, his reason were convinced of the justice of woman suffrage, although his feelings were still opposed to it.

He declared, moreover, that he failed to understand how the United States could deny the right of suffrage to women when the fundamental principles of our government were considered.

The trouble in the United States and with the opponents of equal suffrage in Colorado, is simply a matter of "feelings." However much ^{the intellect and the} sense of justice may be exercised in other directions, on this subject they are given a vacation, or wholly disregarded. The traditions of the past are all against women having a voice in politics; what has been so long must of necessity be correct; - hence the

"Feelings" must be followed, although justice, reason, common sense, and numerous recent experiments all show that political equality for woman is right.

That Colorado as a whole is well satisfied with equal suffrage has already been shown, and the following action of the Legislature only indicates this more conclusively - if possible:

"Whereas, Equal Suffrage has been in operation in Colorado for five years, during which time women have exercised the privilege as generally as men, with the result that better candidates have been selected for office, methods of election have been purified, the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased, and womanhood developed to greater usefulness by political responsibility; Therefore, be it Resolved, By the House of

Representatives, the Senate Con-
 curring, that, in view of these
 results, the enfranchisement
 of women in every State and
 Territory of the American Union
 is hereby recommended as a
 measure tending to the ad-
 vancement of a higher and better
 social order; that an authen-
 ticated copy of these resolutions
 be furnished by the Governor
 of the State to the Legislature
 of every State and Territory;
 and that the press be requested
 to call public attention to
 these resolutions. This ex-
 pression was made January 31st,
 1899 with only three dissenting
 votes in the House and one
 in the Senate.

Equal Suffrage has thus
 been shown to have been a
 benefit not only to the State
 as a whole in the better
 character of laws passed; in
 the nomination of the best
 men available for office; in

the elevated and more manly
 tone given to political conven-
 tions and primaries; in the
 selection of more suitable
 polling places; in better
 behavior at the polls, etc, etc, etc.
 but also to the women them-
 selves, - It has aided them
 in mental development; it has
 made the working and tax-pay-
 ing women strong; it has
 taken away political slavery
 and injustice from almost
 half the population of the State
 and has made them citizens,
 and no better or better equip-
 ped class of citizens is there in
 the State.

The evils prophesied have
 not come to pass, - and never
 will.

The State by a vast majority
 favors equal suffrage, and the
 women in Colorado will
 never lose the franchise.

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* Judge B. B. Lindsay Denver.

Prof. J. E. Le Rossignol, Univ. Park.

Miss Ellis Meredith Denver.

Hon. Arthur L. Corbin, Cripple Creek.

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